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SCHARF
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REPORT

Marginal Column
By "COMMENTATOR"

Ben Gurion Defines Role of Army in National Life

FUTURE generations will have to pass judgment whether Stalin has been the greatest genius in history, as claimed by the more zealous of his adherents, but even today few will dispute the fact that he has been the greatest political loss of all times. And for better or worse, he has also been. Hitler not excepted, the man of destiny of the 20th Century up to now. His biography is one of the biggest success stories of all times. The son of a Gorlitz cobbler, he came to be the most important man of his time. Presidents and Prime Ministers come and went, the Vienna housemaster and the Russian schoolmaster were defeated and disappeared; and only Stalin stood like a giant, an invincible institution, the generalissimo, the "Koshaian," and then the big leader, the "Wodit."

BUT it was not merely a personal achievement. Under Stalin, Russia became the great world power it is now — industrialized and collectivized; a country with the biggest army in the world, and with a number of satellite states doing its bidding. For the first time in history a ruthless social revolution had triumphed and survived. Spartacus and Wat Tyler, the men of 1789 and 1848 were defeated, but Stalin held on; more than that, under his leadership a third of mankind, from Canton to Berlin, came to adopt, whether they liked it or not, the tenets of Stalinism. It would have been indeed the greatest success story of all times but for the fact that 35 years after the October Revolution, Russia is further from Socialism and the aims the Revolution proclaimed than ever under Nikolai Romanov. It would be interesting to know whether Stalin ever realized this. But supposing he did, what could he do about it?

THE most influential man of his time, he has not been a free agent. Stalin always preferred to appear guided by "objective laws"; this was what his last book published some months ago, was about. It was given to Stalin to take decisions fatal not only for his country but the whole of mankind: building Socialism in one country in 1924; denouncing "artificial equality" (uravnilovka) in 1931; extolling the virtues of the Soviet later; Russian patriotism in 1934/5. Once these momentous decisions had been taken there was little anybody could do about it, including Stalin. One had to go on and on, until this process had reached its logical conclusion. And the end is not yet.

STALIN had been nourished after all in the spirit of internationalism and revolutionary democracy common in some degree to all left-wing movements prior to the Second World War. Stalin's successors, on the other hand, belong to an entirely different generation, whose ideals and aims are no longer left or right but belong to an altogether different category. It might be no mere coincidence that the anti-Jewish campaign in the Soviet Union was launched at a time when the reins of power had already passed, at least名义上, into other hands. Stalin believed, in the ultimate victory of Communism (or of Stalinism) in the whole world. But he did not think that the final struggle would necessarily take place this year or the next. By nature he was the most circumspect political leader of our times, and with old age he became even more cautious. His achievement had been enormous, why should he endanger everything by an adventure? Stalin's successor or successors, on the other hand, will probably be of more daring spirit, and this is not exactly what the world needs in the Atomic Age. We might yet wish Stalin back.

Jerusalem, March 2.

Queen's Condition Same
LONDON, Wednesday (AP) — Queen Mary, ill in bed for more than a week with a recurrence of gastric trouble, spent a fairly good night, attending mid today. They described her general condition, however, as

ANXIOUS WORLD AWAITED NEWS FROM MOSCOW AFTER PREMIER STALIN SUFFERS SEVERE STROKE

Marshal Josef Vissarionovich Stalin, 73-year-old President of the Soviet Council of Ministers, was abruptly removed from active leadership of Russia and of millions of Communists in the world when he was stricken with a cerebral hemorrhage at 2 o'clock on Monday morning. The news was broadcast yesterday morning by Moscow Radio which gave bulletins until mid-day reporting that his condition was grave. As no further news was forthcoming for the rest of the day and night, an anxious world hung in suspense and pondered two vital questions: who would be his successor and would his sudden stroke increase or lessen the possibility of world war.

Zurich Conference In the Balance

The final decision whether to hold the Zurich all-Jewish conference is to be made this morning at a meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive in Jerusalem. If the Government makes a treaty of friendship with some other Government, the Army cannot but conform.

The Prime Minister was winding up the first reading of a Bill extending until the end of the year the provisional military law now in force, together with certain amendments intended to strengthen discipline and ban political agitation within the army. The Bill was referred to the Foreign and Security Committee of the House.

The provision punishing with prison terms any form of propaganda intended to undermine the authority of the State among soldiers was violently attacked by all the opposition. Mr. Y. Riftin (Mapam) said it would cripple the "spiritual independence" of the soldier. Mr. Y. Knesset (Mapam) said ironically: the opposition seems to identify democracy with the right to undermine the Government.

Mr. Ben Gurion smilingly hinted that "I know what Mr. Riftin and Mr. Landau (Herut) were aiming at," but preferred not to divulge it. He gave an illustration however. Some time ago the Hashomer Hatzair youth movement published a proclamation to soldiers, urging them to oppose the extension of military service by six months, as passed by the Knesset. "I ordered the recall to the army of those Hashomer Hatzair young men who had been granted deferment for educational work."

The army cannot be allowed to dictate its will to the people, Mr. Ben Gurion said. "We would not like to be turned into a Syria," he said, adding "there are certain people who would like it to be so."

Military Code
The bill was introduced by the Minister of Justice, Mr. P. Rosen, a new military code was presented to the Knesset four years ago, but only passed its first reading in the first Knesset.

The Government may be able to produce a complete draft by the end of the year, he said. Mr. I. Harari (Progressive) said that this was not necessary, as it was more convenient to change the old code left over from Haganah days by amendments suggested by practice.

Year was expressed by some speakers as placing too much and shortly into the hands of a few dangerous men. Mr. Ben Gurion did not share this apprehension. He said he used to rely on young men in the army, and he never had any disappointment, he said.

Thus some people reasoned that "this was the beginning of the end" and that the outcome might be world peace; others said that internal strife may lead to an external outbreak.

Mr. Eisenhower was reported as gravely concerned that Stalin's illness might touch off explosions in Iran or Burma.

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JOSEPH Stalin is mortally sick. The nature of the illness would appear to leave small hope of his recovery. In any event, an era has ended which began, not with the revolution itself but with the concentration of power into Stalin's sturdy grasp twenty-six years ago. At no period in that long, absolutist reign — if we except the controversial days that led up to the 1930 purge — had Stalin's power been seriously or visibly challenged. Instead, it has been exercised with positive and conspicuous effect upon Soviet affairs and Communist doctrine right up to the publication of his now famous 50-page document on the "Economic Problems of Socialism." Issued on the eve of the Communist Party Congress last October, that document — it is last perhaps — set the text for the Congress itself and for Communist states within and without the Soviet orbit.

Stalin's influence has superseded that of Communism. He is the only two members known personally to the West; Leon Trotsky, the only Jew, Stalin's brother-in-law, and a genius of industrial organization; and Andreiev, a four-pun who looks after Party discipline, and Marshal Voroshilov, a former sergeant and Stalin's comrade in arms since the revolution.

YOUNG FANATICS HAVE VOICE IN POLICY-MAKING THE MEN WHO RUN RUSSIA

By EDWARD CHAKSHAW

LONDON.

THE rearrangement and reshuffle of the top leadership in Moscow, which emerged from the recent Soviet Communist Party Congress, might have been specially designed to baffle all attempts to understand exactly how the leadership of Russia works.

Until the congress there was a central committee of the Comintern which consisted of 70 odd members. The committee elected various standing committees, headed by the Politburo, the functions of which were fairly well understood. The Politburo laid down policies; the Orgburo concerned itself with Party organization — i.e. administration; the Control Commission was responsible for Party discipline, the tiny Secretariat pulled the strings.

All these were small bodies. Something was known about the functions and characters of most of their members; and when it was not, the body to which the member belonged gave a strong clue. That is now finished. The Central Committee has nearly doubled its number. The Secretariat has done the same. While the vitally important Politburo and Orgburo have been amalgamated and largely expanded into a Presidium with 25 full-members and 12 candidates (i.e. non-voting) members, many of these, as far as the outer world is concerned, are scarcely more than names.

Politburo Members

Ten of the old Politburo members remain at the top of the Presidium. Compared with some of the new ones, their lives and characters are open books. One of the old-timers, Andreiev, who was one of Stalin's oldest comrades, has been relegated entirely. Another, Konyev, a young man with a swiftness behind him, has lost his place and gone down to candidate membership, while a dozen others have climbed above him.

Others are men still in their fifties, chosen by Stalin to support him in his fight for power. They are Molotov and Mikoyan, the only two members known personally to the West; Leon Trotsky, the only Jew, Stalin's brother-in-law, and a genius of industrial organization; and Andreiev, a four-pun who looks after Party discipline, and Marshal Voroshilov, a former sergeant and Stalin's comrade in arms since the revolution.

The rest of the former Politburo were good Stalinists who plucked away for many years at making Stalin's Russia. Here we find Khrushchev, Party Secretary for the Ukraine; Shvernik, who succeeded Kalinin as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; and Bulganin, an able politician and organizer who is younger than the other two and probably carries more guns.

Two of the younger men Georgi Malenkov and Lavrenti Beria, are already more important than all their seniors, except perhaps Molotov. Malenkov has the Party, and Beria the Police. They appear to be on good terms and could easily make themselves supreme.

Ranged against one another, they will bring the Soviet Union down in ruins. Nobody knows what they



The former Politburo, with the exception of Konyev, now form the upper strata of the new Presidium, and are depicted here in a painting by D. Nalbandyan published in the Soviet weekly "Ogonyok" under the caption "For the Welfare of the People". The group is examining a diagram of the Stalin plan for "remaking Nature" — the reforestation of the Steppes. Molotov is in the left foreground, seated. The others are (left to right) Shvernik, Bulganin, Mikoyan, Krushchev, Stalin, Andreiev, Beria, Kaganovich.

will do, or whether they will work in harmony with Molotov. But Malenkov's record suggests that he will do his best from the ultimate point of view of the Party and the Soviet state.

not make their voices heard. On the contrary, but they will have to make them heard by ranging themselves behind chosen leaders.

Some of the men who will make their voices felt are particularly interesting. These are the four great industrial members, the first men to graduate to the highest body in the land not via the Party office but from industry and the world of technical affairs. They are Malyshev and Pervukhin, both Deputy Prime Ministers; one, after a varied industrial career, is now Minister of Shipbuilding; the other, Minister for the Chemical Industries. Two more are candidate members: Tsvayyan, again a Deputy Prime Minister, the extremely gifted Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy; and Kabanov, Minister of the Electrical Industry. Although these men have been gaining in importance for some years, their introduction into the inner councils of the Communist Party is a portent. They are men more interested in making the wheels go round than in spreading revolution. They will be followed by others: the new Central Committee has at least a dozen members of this type. They are the men who make Russia tick and they will have an increasing voice in policy.

It is clear that each item of policy cannot possibly be debated by 27 members; and the real power will gravitate into the hands of a few. The new Central Committee has at least a dozen members of this type. They are the men who make Russia tick and they will have an increasing voice in policy.

Young Fanatics

For the rest, although we know nothing about many of the new men in the Presidium, one thing stands out. Most are young. Some are the days when the leaders of Russia were down to earth, to receive their mandates. They are now, with suspicion, held in their houses. There are still some of them. But the young entry, which was the main feature of the 19th Party Congress, has quite a New Look. They have been brought to maturity and responsibility inside the Party. They are now in the careers of each and every one of them have been born with the pitfalls and hazards of a totalitarian regime, at the time when their parents, or even their grandparents, were as the whole a much better looking lot than the old Central Committee. They are bright, sufficient, practical and genuine.

The new Presidium contains some fanatics like Bulganin, cronies between Goebbel, Irish Prime Minister Mr. De Valera and a university don. But even among the Party secretaries of the various republics, that is to say, the professional Communists, who are all Malenkov men, there is the same New Look. They are men cut to make the best of themselves and of Russia. Many of them are no doubt convinced that the best way to make the best of Russia is to spread revolution all over the world. But many are.

PALESTINE AND WIVES MUST HAVE SECRETS", a sparkling and witty article. "ARE SPECIALISTS RUINING M.E.D.I.C.I.N.E?" From the Controversial Best Seller by a Doctor's Wife. Price: 250 Pruta. Sole Distributor: PALES.

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The February 24 '53 issue is on sale now and contains:

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PALESTINE — The February 28 Air Edition of THE ECONOMIST, an 8-page issue, is on sale now.

COMMENTARY — Get your February copy now. Price: 250 Pruta.

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